

Dr. Dostie, with other advocates of Equal Rights, was murdered by a mob in New Orleans, July 30th 1866, — and Andrew Johnson did not interfere. G.W.L.

ADDRESS OF DR. A. P. DOSTIE,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF NEW ORLEANS,

May 9, 1866.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—The conflict between Freedom and Despotism now agitating the Nation is rapidly developing those great principles which form the basis of republican government. In the antagonism raging there are two parties in the field—the Republican party, which maintains that liberty, equality and justice are the prerogatives of all men, and should be the foundation of government; the other, the “Democratic” party, which disgraces that name by denouncing human equality and the imprescriptable rights of man, which embrace immortal liberty and impartial justice, and thus striving to re-establish a detestable and odious Slave Oligarchy.

NO MIDDLE GROUND.

In this battle of ideas no middle ground can be taken by friends of freedom, of democracy, of republicanism. The events of the past four years have clearly developed to the American people the fact that the elements in our country at war with republican institutions, with the fundamental truths which point to universal liberty, can no longer with impunity be permitted to endanger the life of the Nation.

Patriots and heroes have written, with pens dipped in the blood of thousands, upon the corner stone of the Republic: Liberty—Progress—Democracy.

REPUBLICANISM CANNOT BE OVERTHROWN.

No human power can thrust this Republic of Liberty into the depths from which it has been lifted. The plague spot has been removed from the Nation, and that man, be he “President, rebel, or conservative,” who dares to conspire against the progress of freedom and equal and exact justice, must eventually incur the just indignation of an outraged people, and be crushed by those “eternal forces” which have decreed that this shall be a land of free, republican institutions.

LINCOLN AND JOHNSON COMPARED.

Connected with the events of the past five years are two names that will ever stand out boldly upon the records of the Second American Revolution. These are, Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. The one, the great leader of the Republican party, the leader of that party which, during the past four years, won so many “victories for humanity.” Abraham Lincoln was the champion of liberty, the embodiment of the principles and policy of the Republican party. He was ever the friend of patriots, of men loyal to our country, and steadily maintained the principles which honored republicanism and protected loyalty. With mercy he blended justice. Abraham Lincoln was never known to compromise with traitors. None dared approach the man who, by every act of his life, had proved himself invulnerable to the flattery of the enemies of his country, and who never granted favors which would injure the cause of republican liberty. The friends of emancipation, of the Union—men of republican ideas, of true democratic principles—were the men with whom he sympathised and whom he selected to fill places of trust in this Government. Abraham Lincoln never dreamed of a policy that could place traitors in power to crush loyal men who had suffered for the cause of liberty and the Union. This name, which was made immortal because it stood at the head of that party, whose policy has ever been to extirpate slavery from the land and restore the country according to the laws of right and justice, will ever appear in bright contrast with that of Andrew Johnson.

A mourning Nation turned from the grave of a martyred President to repose confidence in one they believed to be a true patriot, in one whose past acts and noble sayings had marked

him as a friend to loyalty, an enemy to treason. The oppressed looked up to Andrew Johnson with confidence, as he told them "*he would be their Moses, and take them through the dark waters which surrounded them.*" Loyal men who had suffered by fighting for their country in her peril, for which they were persecuted by traitors, trusted the "*Moses*" of the wronged, and confidently believed that his policy would be to protect the friends of the Government against the tyranny of those who had sought to destroy it. Had Andrew Johnson not said, when Governor of Tennessee, "*Rebellion shall no more pollute our State. Loyal men, whether black or white, shall govern the State?*" Had Andrew Johnson not said from his exalted position of President, "*Treason must be made odious, and traitors must be punished and impoverished. Their great plantations must be seized and divided into small farms and sold to honest and industrious men?*"

Did not Andrew Johnson say: "*Indeed, one who has become distinguished in treason and in this rebellion, said that 'When traitors become numerous enough treason becomes respectable,' and to become a traitor was to constitute a portion of the aristocracy of the country. God protect the people against such an aristocracy.*" We, the people, do say, "*Yes, the time has come when the people should be taught to understand the length and breadth, the depth and height of treason.*" An individual occupying the highest position among us was lifted to that position by the free offering of the American people—the highest position on the habitable globe. This man we have seen, revered and loved; one who, if he erred at all, erred on the side of clemency and mercy. That man we have seen treason strike through a fitting instrument, and we have beheld him fall like a bright star falling from its sphere. Now, there is *none* but would say, if the question came up, what should be done with the individual who assassinated the Chief Magistrate of the Nation? He is but a man—one man, after all; but if asked what should be done with the assassin, what should be the penalty, the forfeit exacted? *I know what response dwells in every bosom.* It is that he should pay the forfeit with his life. And hence, we see these are times when mercy and clemency without justice, become a crime. The one should temper the other, and bring about that

proper means. And if we should say this when the case was the simple murder of one man by his fellow-man, what should we say when asked what should be done with him, or them, or those who have raised impious hands to take away the life of a Nation composed of thirty millions of people? What would be the reply to that question? But while in mercy we remember justice, in the language that has been uttered, *I say justice toward the leaders, the conscious leaders, but I also say amnesty, conciliation, clemency and mercy to the thousands of our countrymen whom you and I know have been deceived or drawn into this infernal rebellion.* I repeat that it is time our people were taught to know that treason is a crime, not a mere political difference, not a mere contest between two parties, in which one succeeded and the other has simply failed. *They must know it is treason, for if they had succeeded the life of the Nation would have been reft from it—the Union would have been destroyed.* Surely the Constitution sufficiently defines treason. It consists in levying war against the United States, and in giving their enemies aid and comfort. With this definition it requires the exercise of no great acumen to ascertain who are traitors. It requires no great perception to tell who have levied war against the United States; nor does it require any great stretch of reasoning to ascertain who have given aid to the enemies of the United States; and when the Government of the United States does ascertain who are the conscious and intelligent traitors, the penalty and forfeit should be paid. I know how to appreciate the condition of being driven from one's home. I can sympathize with him whose all has been taken from him; with him who has been denied the place that gave his children birth. But let us, withal, in the restoration of true government, proceed temperately and dispassionately, and hope and pray that the time will come, as I believe, when all can return and remain at our homes, and *treason and traitors* be driven from our land."

Traitors were appointed to fill places of trust, but none were willing to believe that the patriotic Andrew Johnson had adopted a policy that would place men in power who had labored for years to destroy the most beneficent form of government. Were

not his past acts and words in direct antagonism to this suicidal policy? Had not he said that "in the work of restoration, that work should be put into the hands of friends, not smothered by its enemies"? That "if there were but five thousand men loyal to freedom, loyal to justice, these true and faithful men should control the work of reorganization and reformation absolutely"? Such was the confidence reposed in Andrew Johnson by the loyal Union men of the South that they suffered in silence the persecutions of traitors, believing that when their patriotic President had experimented sufficiently in his restoration policy, he certainly would discover that such a policy sustained traitors and crushed loyal men. They waited hopefully and patiently, believing that when their loyal President should discern the true character of his appointees, they would receive their just reward—that traitors would be punished according to his solemn promises.

JOHNSON DISSIPATES THE HOPES OF THE LOYAL.

Alas! that Andrew Johnson should have stultified his history, abandoned his party, and fallen from that position where a confiding, liberty-loving people had placed him, expecting him to carry out the great principles the lamented Lincoln had pointed out as necessary to save the Republic. Alas! that the Chief Executive should descend from that exalted position so recently occupied by the Great Martyr of Liberty, to denounce the principles of that party, of that Congress who are struggling to maintain the immortal cause for which the leader of Republicanism—the noble Lincoln—had died.

HIS ASSOCIATION WITH TRAITORS.

Liberty bowed her head and wept, methinks, on the night of February 22d, 1866, when the Chief Magistrate of the Nation mingled with the traitors of the land to insult a Republican Congress, to strike at the vitals of Liberty, to treat with contempt the memory of Washington and Lincoln. It was not strange that the Nation stood aghast, and loyal hearts were filled with shame and humiliation, while traitors shouted and fired guns in honor of their avowed leader.

HE ASSERTS THAT HE IS CARRYING OUT MR. LINCOLN'S POLICY.

President Johnson declares that he is but carrying out the policy of Abraham Lincoln.

If he had reconstructed and restored States according to his promises, he would have carried out Mr. Lincoln's policy. Has this been his course? Has he adhered to the principles for which he was elected to restore the States? Has not Andrew Johnson said, "The leaders of the rebellion have decided 'eternal separation between you and them. These leaders must be conquered and a new set of men brought forward, who are to vitalize and develop the Union feeling in the South'?" This was the policy of Abraham Lincoln; this was the promulgated policy of Andrew Johnson, as an avowed Republican. This is not his present policy. His policy is to arm the rebels, to veto Liberty Bills designed to give protection to the loyal against traitors, to denounce patriots as traitors and fraternize with the red-handed monsters of the land.

GOV. BROWNLOW'S OPINION OF JOHNSON'S POLICY.

Listen to what Gov. Brownlow says of Andrew Johnson's policy: "When I put the President in nomination at Baltimore for the Vice Presidency, I felt that he had so thoroughly committed himself to the Union cause, and had been so badly treated by the rebels, it was impossible for him ever to get around to them again; but I give him up as lost to the Union party, and as the man who is to lead the rebels and Democrats. Every rebel in this country, every McClellan man, and every ex-guerrilla chief are loud and enthusiastic in praise of the President. The men who but a few months since were cursing him for an Abolitionist and traitor and wishing him executed, are now for executing all who dare oppose HIS POLICY, or even doubt its success." In the eleven rebellious States, can any one point out the "new set of men"? No. The leaders of the rebellion, through the influence and power of Andrew Johnson, to-day hold the offices and places throughout these States, and openly declare that Andrew Johnson, whom the loyal millions trusted, is the friend and supporter of the leaders of the rebellion, while they know that the loyal Union people are unprotected and subject to the tyranny of the instigators of the rebellion. Andrew Johnson is shamefully guilty of displacing men who have lavishly spilt their blood and expended their treasure to secure an undivided country, and given those places to men distinguished for their treason. The policy of Abraham Lincoln was in bright contrast with this policy. During Lincoln's life, were men known to have been partisans of secession, appointed

to govern the States? Were its instigators allowed to hold offices or positions of honor or trust? Did traitors dream of asking such favors from the just and honest Lincoln? They knew that the great object of that noble life was to put down treason and restore the Union. In contrast to Johnson's proceedings, Lincoln acted according to his convictions of right and justice. His acts were in harmony with his words. Andrew Johnson declared that influential and wealthy traitors ought to suffer "the penalties and terrors of the law," and now seeks to conciliate them, honors them by placing them in Government employ, and giving them positions of power, where their influence in favor of treason is unlimited. Is this "arresting, convicting and punishing" men who have been guilty of the greatest of crimes—treason? Is this making *treason odious*?

HE DECLARIES LOUISIANA AND SOUTH CAROLINA
LOYAL.

Andrew Johnson has recently declared, in praise of his restoration policy, that Louisiana and South Carolina are now more loyal than they have been for the past twenty-five years—showing that all men do not regard loyalty from the same standpoint. The men who have been crushed by the despotic tyranny of President Johnson's *reconstructed rebels*, because they have fought for the Union and republican principles, place a different construction upon loyalty. The men who have fought treason and slavery for the last twenty-five years, and who have been commissioned by high authority to investigate these important matters, do not talk thus of the loyalty of Louisiana and South Carolina. The true, loyal Union men of these eleven rebellious States know that rebellion is only conquered by the bayonet, that military power alone keeps it in check. Why do the masses, led on by prominent men, the wealthy, influential aristocrats of the South, denounce in the most bitter terms the men who oppose slavery, secession and treason? Why is the press of these States, if they are so loyal, constantly filling the public mind with the same ideas that were popular during the rebellion?

HORACE MAYNARD'S OPINION OF THE REBELLIOUS
STATES.

Hearken to what Horace Maynard says: "With the same traitor editors as before and during the war, pardoned it may be, but

manifestly unchanged in temper and purpose, there is displayed the same sectional feeling and hatred of the Federal Government; though not the same stomach for fight. Under a thin disguise of flattery of the President they assail his friends who have stood by him all through the dark years of the conflict, and vilify those whom they call radicals, meaning all Union men who oppose their infamous course and who are now unwilling they should be restored to power over loyal men. Their diurnal venom affords the strongest argument against the admission to their seats of your Congressional representation. The ideas and principles of the rebellion are constantly instilled into the popular mind." This is known to be true by all loyal men in the South. The unrepentant rebels still resist the laws of the Nation, despise the sacred oaths they have taken, and only took them for the purpose of gaining power through the mysterious *magnanimity* of Andrew Johnson, praise the institution of slavery and despotism, and generally embrace the sentiments of men like T. Yancey, of Mississippi, who says: "As for recognizing the right of freedmen to their children, I can say that not one Southern man or woman in the whole South recognizes the negro as a freedman, but as other stolen property forced by the bayonets of the damnable United States Government."

THOUGH THE INSURRECTION IS DECLARED ENDED,
WAR YET EXISTS.

Such are the "loyal men" in power in these reconstructed States. Such are the men now guarding the vital interests of eleven States of this Republic of Liberty. Does that flag which is the pride of the Nation, in the folds of which may be read "Liberty, Justice and Equality," wave triumphantly over these States? Although Andrew Johnson has proclaimed the "insurrection at an end," war has not ended, peace has not come. The Union men of the South yet look upon Federal bayonets as their only hope of salvation, and must so do, until a truly Republican Congress can secure peace to the country by reconstructing the rebellious States upon a loyal basis, until those who are traitors are made "to take a back seat," and are shorn of all power to renew their assault upon the life of the Nation. Traitors, through the *magnanimity* of Andrew Johnson, have received positions due only to good and patriotic men.

Men who had made themselves worthy of favors from the Chief Executive by their adherence to the Government when in peril, demanded, in the name of right and justice, that the sacred interests of this Government be guarded by its sworn and tried friends, and not placed in the power of the leaders of the rebellion, who still plot the destruction of the Republic. Honors bestowed upon traitors will prove that

"Mercy but murders, pardoning those that kill."

Have these pardoned rebels, who to-day, through the influence of the President, govern the eleven rebellious States, shown any evidence of repentance for the crimes they have committed against their country? Do they regard their sacred oaths? Do they not daily declare, while surrounded by Federal bayonets, that they will yet conquer that power which has compelled their submission to the just laws of this Nation, while they acknowledge themselves beaten in the field? that, with the help of their President and the copperheads of the North, they will triumph politically in the Government of this country; that it will be a more decided victory of their principles than they could have obtained by defeating the Republican army upon the battle-field? Is this yielding up the infamous principles for which they commenced and fought a bloody war; that they might become a Confederacy of Traitors, the corner stone of which was to be slavery? Is this embracing the great truths which give to this Nation "Liberty—full, broad and unconditional Liberty?" Ought not traitors to be made to feel that by committing the crime of treason against this Government they forfeit their rights as citizens, and that justice demands that they be arrested and punished? If they had repented of their infamous crimes, would they not honor and respect their conquerors? Have they done this? No. The fact is notorious that all the influential, wealthy leaders of rebellion to-day bid defiance to the Government and laws of the country they have deluged with blood and filled with woe and desolation. The principles of these leaders have always moved them to oppose republicanism, human equality and liberty, and to guide the masses under their control to anarchy and rebellion.

These are the men who to-day, under the policy and administration of Andrew Johnson,

occupy the first positions in the States so lately in armed hostility to the United States Government. These men, who led the armies of the rebellion against the Republican hosts, who fought to maintain the Government and establish liberty throughout the land, now lead the armies forth to fight the political battles against their conquerors.

JOHNSON CLAIMED BY REBELS AND COPPERHEADS
AS THEIR LEADER AND FRIEND.

And whom do they claim as their leader in this conflict between republicanism and despotism, between free institutions and slavery? Who, say the copperhead presses of the North and the rebel presses of the South, shall be their leader? In answer to this question, let us read from the Bangor (Maine) *Democrat*, which says: "Andrew is himself again. The smoke and dust of the late civil war have cleared away. The errors and vagaries of the last five years have cleared away, have passed into oblivion, and Andrew Johnson has shaken from his limbs the shackles of Black Republicanism, and stands before the country to-day the same noble, true-hearted Democrat he was in those better days when he sat at the feet of the great Hero of the Hermitage, and received from his lips the first lessons in Jeffersonian Democracy. The President has vetoed the infamous Freedmen's Bureau Bill, a bill of abominations." From the Wilmington (North Carolina) *Herald* we also quote: "All honor to President Johnson. The telegraph of this morning brings us the gratifying tidings that the President has vetoed the bill commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau Bill. Does the South want any further evidence of the friendship of the Federal Administration towards it? Is it not time for the Southern people to take some action toward staying up the hands of the noble, worthy, patriotic Chief Executive? He cannot stand alone against radicalism and fanaticism. Let the people of Wilmington send him a word of cheer, sympathy and encouragement." Such are the sentiments, expressed by the copperheads of the North and the traitors of the South. They evidently believe that their leader is secured to them, that the man who so long suffered on the "gridiron" because men of republican principles were suffering by the persecutions of traitors, copperheads and rebels, the "Moses"

of the oppressed, the Governor of Tennessee, who declared that loyal men, whether black or white, should rule the State, who said that treason must be made odious, that the wealthy, influential leaders of the rebellion must be arrested, convicted and punished, is now the accepted leader of those who love oppression and hate free, democratic, republican institutions. The leader of red-handed traitors, who have fought to undermine the foundations of this Government, the leader of men whose names stand in the same category of crime with Aaron Burr, of whom Andrew Johnson said, in the days when he denounced traitors: "*Were I President of the United States, I would do as Thomas Jefferson did, in 1806, with Aaron Burr—I would have them arrested, and if convicted, within the meaning and scope of the Constitution, by the Eternal God, I would execute them.*" Andrew Johnson is President of the United States, and who has he arrested? Who has been executed?—Wirz. The men who founded and instigated conspiracies to overthrow the Government, men who fired upon our flag, took our forts and customhouses, our arsenals, our mints, our lands, and fought against our liberty, made desolate our homes and murdered our sons and brothers—these are the men who cry, from every portion of the land, upon Andrew Johnson to lead them against that party who has ever stood up boldly for the eternal principles of justice and the rights of humanity, who crushed the infamous rebellion and stayed the revengeful arm of those who struck at the vitals of the Nation, that party which wielded a power that all the copperheads, rebels and demons in Christendom cannot crush, be their leader Andrew Johnson, Robert E. Lee or Jefferson Davis.

THE REPUBLIC SAFE.

Notwithstanding the defection of the President, this great Republic is not to be hurled from the majestic heights to which it has been lifted within the past five years; it is not again to be thrown back into the depths of slavery, oppression and degradation from which it has just emerged. The spirit of the age proclaims the march of Freedom to be onward, and no human power can silence the voice of Liberty, as she proclaims to the nations of the earth her right to rule this Republic. Men may plot and conspire to destroy

liberty and republicanism, and build upon their ruins slavery and despotism, but there is a God of Justice who rules the destinies of this Nation, and who, in the events of the last four years, has proved to the American people that from His Eternal Throne He has decreed that this shall be a Republic where the rights of humanity shall be sacred against oppression and tyranny. Human rights have become wonderfully developed by the revolution which has been sweeping over the land. Millions of the enslaved have been, by the Great Emancipator, proclaimed freemen, and are becoming enlightened on the important events of the age, and appreciate the humane principles of republicanism, to which they owe their liberation from the thralldom of tyranny, notwithstanding President Johnson's recent order to discontinue "the collection of taxes by the Freedmen's Bureau for purposes of education."

JOHNSON'S VIEWS ON RECONSTRUCTION.

We hear a great cry raised about taxation without representation. Andrew Johnson, in his anxiety to admit the leaders of the rebellion into Congress, exclaims that it is unjust to compel States to pay taxes without representation, and declares that it is unjust to bar the Congressional doors against the Representatives now sent from the rebellious States, and says: "Admit into the councils of the Nation those who are unmistakably loyal." Does not President Johnson know that nine-tenths of the men sent from the rebellious States are notorious for their treasonable efforts to destroy the Government, and that their constituents daily curse it as "the damnable United States Government;" that these unprincipled rebels are now laboring with their wealth and unlimited influence to tax four millions of freemen, without representation; that they deny them the rights of the ballot, while their loyalty is unquestionable. Andrew Johnson says "the Revolution was fought that there should be no taxation without representation." For what, we would ask, has this Second Revolution been fought, if not to establish equal rights in this Nation? Should the Republican Congress be denounced by the Chief Executive because it would maintain the principles for which this great civil war has been fought, because it frowns upon traitors and makes those guilty understand that they have forfeited the right to participate in the legislation

of the Nation? President Johnson and Congress do not differ in this matter if President Johnson abides by his words. No true Union man desires to see a loyal man thrust out of Congress, or to see a State unrepresented in the National Legislature; when it can be proven that that State has a trusty republican government and is established upon a loyal basis—a State that will send men to represent her in Congress whose hands have not been imbrued in the blood of patriots. President Johnson declares he stands by the Constitution and Government to resist encroachments. Alas! that he had not been as anxious to guard them from the polluting touch of traitors as he is to denounce their noblest friends. President Johnson is opposed to any further amendments of the Constitution "at this time." He desires that this important work be postponed until the restoration of the Southern States, that they may have their influence in determining what these amendments shall be. What kind of amendments are we to expect from traitors whose souls are steepee in the principles of rebellion and slavery, the sworn friends of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee and other leaders of traitors? This being, according to his recent acts, "*the white man's government*," universal suffrage is not in harmony with his ideas of American Government. "It would bring on a war of the races." That war commenced when slavery was first established, and will continue until human equality is acknowledged and respected in every State in the Republic of Liberty. That is a self-evident truth, plainly read by every thoughtful lover of right and justice in this country.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE—LINCOLN IN FAVOR OF IT.

Abraham Lincoln, true to justice and liberty, taught the duty and necessity of equal rights. His words were: "Universal suffrage before universal amnesty." Abraham Lincoln understood Southern loyalty, and knew that the rebellious States could not be reconstructed upon a loyal basis until the principal element of loyalty in those States had the right of the ballot and all other rights of American citizens, which all men are entitled to. The withholding these rights, the rights which the founders of this Government acknowledged, has already deluged the land in blood, and points to another civil war unless the just de-

mands of humanity are complied with. Liberty has written upon the flag of the nation, "Equal Rights—the Destiny of Republicanism," and this Nation will never have attained to the glory destined for her until the rights of all men are respected by the Government. How, we would ask, can President Johnson claim to be carrying out the policy of the Martyr of Liberty, when he is doing everything in his power to crush the loyal men in the South, both white and black, by appointing the most powerful leaders of the rebellion to prominent official positions, who still cherish disloyalty in their hearts?

RESTORATION POLICIES OF LINCOLN AND JOHNSON.

Lincoln was never known to announce a great principle and act contrary to it. That great and good man said: "*An attempt to guarantee and protect a revived State Government, constructed in whole or in preponderating part from the very element against whose hostility and violence it is to be protected, is simply absurd.*" Can Andrew Johnson, with these words before him, look at the work that his policy has wrought and believe that it is the lamented Lincoln's policy carried out? Andrew Johnson knows that every political act of that great and just man had a tendency to crush treason and exalt loyalty and liberty; that he never dreamed of traitors governing the four millions of enfranchised human beings. Andrew Johnson calls upon the people to tell him what principle he has violated, from what sentiment he has swerved?—asks them, if any one quotes his predecessor as going in opposition to anything he has done, what principle adopted by him has he departed from? There may have been silence in that crowd when these questions were asked, but the loyal people aver that he has violated his solemn engagement to be the "Moses" and lead the oppressed to "Liberty—full, broad and unconditional liberty;" that he has discriminated against the loyal and in favor of the disloyal; he has been guilty of acts and language calculated to precipitate another horrid rebellion; that he has attempted to usurp the legislative powers of Congress; that he has said he "did not consider those who opposed his policy as belonging to the Union party;" that he has been guilty, in the following, of shameless interference in the sacred rights of the ballot: "In reference to the elections in Connecticut or elsewhere I am

for the candidate who is for the general policy and the specific measures promulgated in my annual message, veto message, speech of 22d February, and the veto message sent in to-day. There can be no mistake in this. I presume it is known, or can be ascertained, what candidates favor or oppose my policy or measures as promulgated to the country.

"ANDREW JOHNSON."

These averments and the President's own letter answers the question the President puts. By them it is shown that he has not been true to his own professions, nor have his acts been in keeping with those of his predecessor...

In connection with the subject of reconstruction the name of Abraham Lincoln will be lovingly enshrined in the hearts of patriots for his immortal acts, while that of Andrew Johnson will be associated with their woes and their oppressions; he will be remembered as the prime mover in the infamous plans of staying the progress of the noble work commenced by his predecessor.

WHAT CONGRESS IS DOING.

A Republican Congress is now acting in harmony with the great work commenced by Abraham Lincoln. That Congress seeks to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, and insure the blessings of liberty" to the Nation. The contest between the Chief Executive and that legislative body is not for the restoration of the Union—the Union is indivisible. Congress opposes the admission of rebels to legislate upon the vital questions now before this Nation. It opposes those who are enemies to the Government. The President is laboring to force men who have been the leaders of rebellion into Congress to frame the laws of the country. The civil and political organization of the rebellious States is constitutionally within the control of Congress. It is the duty, under the Constitution, for the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy to suppress insurrection and rebellion, *under the direction of Congress.*" Through Congress armies and navies are raised and sustained, and the duty of the President, as Commander-in-Chief, is to execute the laws of that body in carrying out the will of the people. Congress has the right to determine the conditions of peace or war, and it is the unmistakable and the sworn duty of the President to heed and enforce its solemn behests.

The Constitution declares that "it shall be the duty of the President," as Commander-in-Chief, "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." But Congress shall "provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States," to provide for the common defence and *general welfare* of the United States, to declare war, grant letters of marque and make reprisal, and make rules for the capture on land and water, to raise and support armies to make rules for the government of land and naval forces, and to provide for calling out the militia.

THE WAR IS NOT ENDED.

War has not ended. The act of Congress of July 22d, 1861, and the act of four days later, reducing the army to twenty-five thousand men within one year after the existing rebellion and insurrection, cannot be carried out, because of the continuance of rebellion. The men who participated in the rebellion are still armed insurgents. If not armed with the bayonet, they have inaugurated a warfare against freedom and the just laws of this Government, and hold themselves in readiness to strike at the life of the Republic when they shall have obtained the power.

ENEMIES AIDING IN RECONSTRUCTION.

Under the present policy of reconstruction the rebel States have not chosen their representatives according to law. The proclamation of May 29th, 1865, was utterly disregarded. Men excepted by it voted at the elections, and men thus excepted were elected to the most important offices. Men were elected to aid in the important work of reconstruction who had sworn an oath against the United States Government, who had fought against it, and had given no subsequent acknowledgement by returning to their allegiance, that they were not still its bitter enemies. Are such men fit to represent the vital interests of the States of this Republic within the National or State Governments? Such are not the *set of men* Congress desires should *vitalize and develop the Union feeling in the South.*

HUMILIATION OF THE SOUTH BY CONGRESS DENIED.

It is a false assertion that a Republican Congress or any men maintaining loyal, Union principles, desire to humiliate the South. It is treason and hydra-headed slavery, with their

correlatives, aristocracy, despotism, anarchy and rebellion—that Republican loyalty has determined shall perish from this Nation, and with the help of a just God, will crush out from this country, destined to be the land of human rights, and to be governed by the chosen friends of liberty. Justice, ever in harmony with freedom, demands that national crimes be punished and equitable laws established, and that the dignity, rights and privileges of loyal citizens be respected. An outraged people demand that “as the Government has put down traitors in arms, traitors should be put down in law, in public judgment, and in the morals of the world.” Loyal people believe in no policy that honors, exalts, makes governors, legislators, senators and presidents of men who have sent our brothers and sons to Andersonville and Libby prisons, and made the land to flow with the blood of patriots; men who to-day are singing praises to their heroes, the traitors Jefferson Davis, Lee, and Stonewall Jackson, and have erected monuments to rebels, while they curse the memory of our fallen heroes and martyred patriots. We believe the mass of the people in the insurrectionary States, freed from the vile influences of those men who led them into treason and rebellion, would be easily brought back to allegiance and become good citizens; but the leading men, those described in the Proclamation of Amnesty, are “the conscious, influential traitors,” who wield their power in opposition to republican institutions and draw the masses which they control into the vortex of treason, anarchy and political crimes. Is it strange that the loyalty of the Nation demands that the infamous crime of *treason* “should suffer its penalty,” that “it should be made odious,” when we behold the war that it has caused, and the men who yet avow they will accomplish the destruction of free institutions? Are not these unrepentant traitors guilty before the law? Should they not be disfranchised, that they may no longer continue their infernal work of ruin and death? Should not men in sympathy with Jefferson Davis and his confederates, men who live to plot, conspire and to undermine a government based upon justice, liberty and republicanism, be excluded from our legislatures? yea, be prohibited from the rights of loyal citizens until they have become such. These traitors, who avow that had they

it in their power they would inaugurate a war to-day that would extirpate pure democracy from the land, trample upon the rights of humanity, and crush liberty with the iron heel of despotism. It has been fully demonstrated to thoughtful, candid, reasoning loyal men who have investigated the true state of affairs in the rebellious States, that it would be unsafe to permit the withdrawal of the military forces from those States. That loyal people, white and black, are hopeless of maintaining their rights without military power; that without it they would have no protection for life, liberty or property.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS THE BASIS OF PEACE.

In view of these facts, should not loyal men demand that the basis of pacification be justice and human rights? Should they not exact justice, and determine never to recognize any government as a republican government, but one based upon the principles which insure “Liberty—full, broad and unconditional Liberty?” Then, and not till then, can we expect “peace to come, and come to stay.”

LOYAL PROVISIONAL GOVERNORS SHOULD BE APPOINTED.

The President and Congress, in justice to the loyal element of the South, should continue military power over those in rebellion. The civil law should be subordinate to martial law. Provisional Governors of unquestionable loyalty, who have not joined the enemies of free institutions in the infamous war against the Government, should be appointed to carry out the laws. Men who have not joined hands with the Vallandighams, Woods and Seymours, for the purpose of achieving what they call their rights—the right of slavery; the right to recognize the debt of the “Confederate States;” the right to establish aristocratic or oligarchical forms of government in opposition to republican institutions transmitted to us by our forefathers. We want no Governors who, while they maintain principles destructive to liberty and loyalty, hypocritically profess opposite principles, to deceive a loyal Congress and a loyal people. Have such men demonstrated their acceptance of the situation “as free States forever as the result of the war.” The acts of the Legislatures of the so-called reconstructed States, which have acted in harmony with the Provisional Governors of these States, will answer these questions. Will

not these acts be branded as equally infamous with the Black Codes and the laws connected with that infernal slavery which so long disgraced the American Nation.

THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES COMPARED.

The Republican party for the last four years has been fighting for the "general liberty and security of the people." That party, in Congress and out of Congress, are still battling for what alone will secure the general liberty and security of the Nation—justice and equal rights before the law. On the other hand, there is a powerful faction who are opposed to the principles of the Republican party, have been fighting against emancipation, the draft, confiscation, the enrollment and arming of the blacks, the proclamation of martial law, and the arrest and punishment of traitors. The men who opposed the war because they believed it would result in the destruction of their cherished plans against true democratic principles, are those who cheer loudest for the reconstruction policy of Andrew Johnson and applaud his shameless betrayal of the Republican party, and are loud in praise of his denunciation of those who in the National Congress firmly maintain republican principles and resist all attempts to force into their councils traitors who have been connected with the rebellion. What class of men support Andrew Johnson's policy in his vetoes of the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights Bills, and demand the full representation of the rebellious States in Congress, when he denounces as traitors that body whose every act has been to carry out the policy of Abraham Lincoln to "secure the rights and liberties of the people?" Where do we find the voice of the disciples of Calhoun and the Vallaudighams? Why did the rebels and copperheads, North and South, shout long and loud for the Chief Executive of the Republic when he stepped from his exalted position to mingle with a copperhead mob to condemn the leaders of the Republican party for their integrity and loyalty? Are not these admirers of the President's last acts those who said, a little while since, that "successful coercion would be as great a crime as successful secession;" that "if an attempt was made to put secession down blood would flow in the streets of New York;" that "coercion was unconstitutional, illegal?" Are not these the men who opposed

the measures for the suppression of the rebellion, opposed the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, opposed emancipation, conscription, loans, legal tender, money and taxation? Franklin Pierce, who said the fighting would not be alone South of Mason and Dixon's line; it would be within our own borders, that we would find occupation enough at home, has suddenly come to worship the policy of Andrew Johnson. James Buchanan, who invited rebellion, finds consolation in his late acts, as do all copperheads and traitors, North and South, who wanted "the war to end by diplomacy, by recognition;" who advised the people to shoot down those who would enforce the draft or deny the right of *habeas corpus*, to resist to the bitter end the attempt to make the military superior to the civil law, and to arm themselves that they might be prepared for horrible contingencies, who urged the repudiation of the National debt, and did all in their power to depreciate the currency and make worthless the public credit; who said Abraham Lincoln was controlled by fanatics and Black Republicans. Such are the men who opposed the policy of Abraham Lincoln, but who to-day embrace the doctrines of the betrayer of the Republican party.

Andrew Johnson is now the upholder of that party who said of the Martyr of Liberty, "that the fate of Charles I should be his doom," that he ought to be put down by the bullet, and found their Booth to carry out their hell-born desire. These admiring friends of Andrew Johnson threatened to hang the military commission that condemned to death the assassins of Abraham Lincoln. These same friends proposed to divide this Union into four quarters, Northern, Western, Pacific and Southern; but now do not object to Union, provided that the country can be ruled by the policy of Andrew Johnson, Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, Gen. Humphries, and other "loyal" Southerners—provided our Congress can be made up of the leaders of the great secession movement. Are not these men "Southern patriots," "honorable men," "Christian warriors," "chivalrous gentlemen," the men who have a right, acquired by their devotion to "Southern institutions," and their adherence to the "white man's government," to bid defiance to a Republican Congress and a loyal people. Have not these men acquired a right to denounce *that party*

which has determined, with the help of Eternal Justice, to establish equal rights and equitable laws in this Republic; has determined that none shall be welcomed back into the Union who wielded a power during a civil war against that Government they now propose to control; men who now harmonize with men like Buchanan, who said it would be right to acknowledge the independence of the Southern States; of men who, like George H. Pendleton, who said the whole scheme of coercion was impracticable and was contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, and commended the people to let the seceded States depart in peace, establish their Government and work out their destiny according to the wisdom God had given them.

COPPERHEAD SENTIMENTS.

Such are some of the sentiments of that party who sought through Lord Lyons the mediation of Foreign Powers between the North and the South, who urged the people to refuse supplies to our brave defenders; who defended "State Rights," "State Independence," "State Sovereignty," called Abraham Lincoln a traitor, Jefferson Davis a patriot, a second Washington battling for democratic rights, claimed among their leaders men like S. S. Cox, who said that Lincoln should be brought to the same block with Jefferson Davis; Mr. Fugersoll, of Pennsylvania, who said, "I fully endorse the doctrine of secession as an American doctrine"; Harris, of Maryland, who said, "I hope the South in this struggle will never be conquered"; Rev. C. Channcey Burr, who said, "You can never conquer the South, and *I pray God you never may.*" Such are the Democratic leaders who join hands with the Southern reconstructed rebels and shout praises to Andrew Johnson. Are they not "pure patriots," "loyal citizens," "immortal heroes," "brave, devoted followers of their leaders," Jefferson Davis, Andrew Johnson, and Robert E. Lee? Have they not fought through a sea of blood to establish a Southern Confederacy, whose corner stone was to be slavery? Have they not become worthy, by their noble deeds, to control the Government of the United States, which they fought for four years to destroy? Have they not the right as brother "Democrats," to choose for their leader in their patriotic enterprise, Andrew Johnson, whom they opposed for his republican talk from 1860 until he became, through an inscrutable mystery, President of

the United States? These are the men who, in the days of Andrew Johnson's avowed republican patriotism, "bullied" him, while Congress has maintained the principles of right and duty in reminding him of the laws and his solemn promises to the loyal millions, "TO MAKE TREASON ODIOUS," and to practice the true doctrines of Democracy, which "is a sentiment not to be appalled, corrupted or compromised. It knows no baseness, it cowers to no dangers, it oppresses no weakness. Destructive only of despotism, it is the sole conservator of liberty, of labor and property. It is the sentiment of freedom, of equal rights, of equal obligations—the law of nature pervading the law of the land."

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY MUST BE ACTIVE.

My friends—we, who are in sympathy with the National Republican party, are called upon to meet the issues that are presented in this contest between human liberty and despot oppression. The great questions before the nation are of vital importance to us all, involving as they do the moral and political ruin of the country, or the triumph of the principles upon which human rights are based. In the progress of events we can but mark a series of antagonisms which must impress all thoughtful men who are interested in the welfare of our country with the fact that in this terrible conflict, free government and the rights of humanity must be established and respected in this Republic and the Union maintained in its integrity, or the false and dangerous doctrines which the enemies of our National Government have vindicated before, during and since the rebellion, will triumph and overthrow the democratic, republican institutions now the glory of the American Nation. In this case, will not the loyal element, North and South, sustain a truly Republican Congress, which, as a body, is devoted to liberty and loyalty, which is struggling to vindicate the immutable principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and "to continue the Government in loyal hands, and none other;" which has determined that none "but men loyal to the Constitution, loyal to freedom, loyal to justice," shall participate in the National Councils, to frame laws for the country or control the work of reorganization? This body of earnest patriots is governed by the fundamental

principles that "the exercise of political power should be confined to the loyal." One of the noble men of that body, Senator Wilson, forcibly says: "A loyal people, with the clear instincts of intelligent patriotism, saw amid all the excitements of the present that this was not a struggle for the restoration of the rebel States into the Union, but a struggle for the admission of rebels into the Union; a struggle for the admission of rebels into the legislative branches of the Government of the United States; not a struggle to put rebels under the laws, but to enable rebels to frame the laws of the country. Politicians might deceive themselves, but the people, who had given two and a half millions of men, the blood of 600,000 heroes, and \$3,000,000,000 comprehend the issues. These were indeed eventful, exciting and sad times. Rebels, rebel sympathizers, the men who had stained their hands with the blood of our brothers, starved the country's defenders at Andersonville, plotted in secret lodges of the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Sons of Liberty for the overthrow of their country, lighted the fires of riot and arson in the city of New York, and plotted the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, are shouting with exultation over the present aspect of National affairs. The Republican or great Union party of the country, embracing in its ranks more of moral and intellectual worth than was ever organized in any political party on the globe, proclaims as its living faith the creed of the equal rights of man, and the brotherhood of all humanity embodied in the New Testament and in the Declaration of Independence. If it should perish now by the hand of the suicide, or by the follies and treacheries of men it had generously trusted, it will have made a record of honor and glory. The best interests of the regenerated Nation, the rights of man, the elevation of an emancipated race alike demand that the leaders of that great Union party that restored a broken Union and gave liberty to four millions of men, shall continue to administer the Government and preserve and frame the laws for the nation."

REPUBLICANS WILL SUSTAIN CONGRESS.

The great Liberty party will sustain this Congress in its efforts to establish in the rebellious States republican governments, based upon the fundamental principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence. Until these

governments are established the rights of loyal citizens will not be protected—Liberty, peace and permanent Union cannot be secured to the Nation—the natural, civil and political rights of man will not be achieved. The two great elements of republican government are justice and equality. These two elements are wanting in the present governments of the rebellious States. They only contain those elements which, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "make the States half slave—half free," and are, therefore, established upon a basis which cannot permanently endure. They do not secure freedom to all, do not protect the rights of four millions of human beings, who claim and are entitled to the just rights of citizens. They do not, in the language of Andrew Johnson, "secure exact justice to all men, special privilege to none," do not provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. These governments, I repeat, are wanting in the great principles upon which must be based republican government. These fundamental doctrines the Fathers sought to establish—Liberty to all and Equal Rights to all. No State constitution can be republican in form which disfranchises the loyal citizens of the United States. Millions of human beings, within the past four years, have been emancipated from the bondage of slavery, and are now citizens of the United States, loyal patriotic defenders of their country and the firm friends of republican State governments, which will recognize their moral, civil and political rights. These governments will never be established through the influence of traitors, rebels, or any class of men whose lives have been spent in political opposition to republican institutions, and who continue to fight against destiny and the forces which are moving the nations of the world to extend equal rights to all men; the men whom treason has made "*odious*," the men in command of the rebel governments, who "grant protection to the rich traitor, while the poor Union man stands out in the cold, often unable to get a receipt or a voucher for his losses." These men might legislate forever and they would never establish just laws for all, would never advocate measures by which the rights of all would be secured, would never recognize the great principles of republican government,

which comprehend universal liberty, universal justice and universal suffrage, without which this nation will never attain to that grandeur and power which the voice of Liberty proclaims the destiny of a united Republic. During the administration of Abraham Lincoln an attempt was made to establish governments in Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas, based upon republican principles. These were in harmony with the policy of that Martyr of Liberty, and met the approbation of him who ever desired to promote liberty and popularize progressive principles. It is true an important political element was wanting in these forms of government, which President Lincoln himself more than once hinted at as necessary to enter into truly republican governments. They did not embrace the political rights of all loyal citizens. Alas! Lincoln did not live to carry out that policy which promised universal suffrage; did not live to carry out his pledge that "the freedom of the enfranchised should be maintained," and that he should be not only "a soldier in war, but a citizen in peace." In the Constitution of Louisiana of 1864, provisions were made for the Legislature of the State to extend the right of suffrage to the enfranchised, to educate them, to draw upon them for defence. Of this Constitution it was said by the immortal and lamented Lincoln, that he had read it through twice, and "thought it the best Constitution yet adopted by any State." Had not the enemies of progress and liberty controlled this State in opposition to the policy of the champion of liberty and loyalty, Louisiana would have stood upon the broad platform of constitutional liberty, when she would have exclaimed through the people, "I have bent the tyrant's rod. I have broken the yoke of slavery, and to-day she stands redeemed." But alas! who under the policy of Andrew Johnson, the author of these noble words, have been the participants in the work of reorganization? Has it been those "loyal to freedom, loyal to justice," men true and faithful to the rights of humanity? What has been the course of action of the Governor of Louisiana, of the State Government, of the Government of New Orleans, the metropolis of the South? History, true to justice, will not fail to point out the true story and give its moral to the future. It will solve this problem of reconstruction and seal the doom of the enemies of human rights. An-

tagonistic systems of government cannot exist. There is no harmony between liberty and slavery. Their friends will never be in sympathy, can never work together in the vitally important work of reconstruction. Uncompromising and eternal war has been declared between slavery and freedom. Peace will never come until this antagonism ceases, and pure, republican, democratic principles triumph over the arrogant slave powers.

Andrew Johnson, in his speech to the American people, says: *Citizens, soldiers and sailors—know that from my advent into public life to the present moment, I have always stood unwaveringly the advocate and the defender of their rights and interests.* Andrew Johnson is an egotist, a demagogue, a boaster, and is prone to much unpresidential talk and tergiversation, which sounds to the "citizens, soldiers and sailors" very like *ad captandum*. The "soldiers and sailors, especially," will not suffer usurpations by Andrew Johnson or *any other man*. They have too much intelligence and virtue to be cajoled and cheated of their liberty by such heartless professions as have emanated from Andrew Johnson. He asks, "who has sacrificed or periled more" in the cause of country? He says *his life, his property and his all* have been staked upon it. Well, admitting it be so, was he not paying a debt he owed? Were they sacrifices? Can one sacrifice in the cause of country? Does not country demand support? Are we not bound to it for all we have, for all we are? Have not thousands of "private" and "public" citizens, "soldiers and sailors," given more "property," "periled more" of "everything sacred and dear to man" than has Andrew Johnson? Has not Andrew Johnson been munificently rewarded for his manifold labors? Was he not elevated from a mechanic to the offices of Senator, Military Governor, Vice President and President? Are not these offices of great honor and enormous emoluments? Could he have done as profitably as a private soldier, sailor or officer in the army or navy, or as a private citizen in his mechanic's shop?

Your speaker, on the axiom "that principles demand support," has suffered more imprisonment, given more "property," more labor and more of "everything sacred and dear to man" than has Andrew Johnson, and without the compensation or honor as Senator, pay or

honor as Military Governor, pay or honor as Vice President, or pay or honor as President of the United States of America; and yet, unlike Andrew Johnson, he does not complain. Your speaker has only labored to perform his duty to his country and her liberties, and thereby found ample reward. Andrew Johnson asks, "Where were they (meaning the people alarmed at Andrew Johnson's treachery) during the rebellion just ended? Ever at home in bed." Words are inadequate to express indignation against this monstrous calumny. Was the immortal Lincoln "ever at home in bed?" was his Cabinet—was the brave and heroic Congress "ever at home in bed?" Were the Judiciary "ever at home in bed?" Were the merchants, the mechanics, the farmers, the laborers of the country "ever at home in bed?" O incorrigible boaster, Andrew Johnson! where were you? History is silent as to the battle you fought in. It makes no mention of your having "smelled gunpowder." Like Demosthenes, the death and carnage of "grim visaged war" was more desirable afar off. Oh, impotent effort to seduce soldiers, sailors and civilians to "wait and see if I don't stand by you, although *every other man* may falter and fall." Apropos to this *waiting and seeing*, read from the *Constitutional Union*—one of Andrew Johnson's special organs—and divine what waiting and seeing means:

"I caution no violence," nor do I wish to see the second advent of Cromwell of England, or Napoleon of France, practiced upon the Radical destructionists in this Congress, but "**WHAT HAS BEEN MAY BE, AND WILL BE AGAIN;**" IF PRESIDENT JOHNSON IS THWARTED IN HIS GOOD INTENTIONS. The President must be unstained"

"Then, my countrymen, fellow-citizens, soldiers and sailors," let us, being forewarned, be forearmed, and ready to meet the horrible contingencies, and in the mightiness of right and our blood-stained liberties—

"Strike for the green graves of our sires
God and our native land."

THE PRESIDENT AND "HIS COLORED FRIENDS."

In his empty and inconclusive talk to his "colored friends" on the 16th April, Andrew Johnson said, "My friendship, as far as it goes is not for place or power, for I have them already." These friends are enlightened to learn

that Andrew Johnson's friendship, as far as it goes, is not for place or power; but ignorant as these people are, they know he holds his exalted position through much aid received from them, both in the field of battle and in other walks of life, and have awakened to the ingratitude of the man who is doing all in his power to reduce them to a more deplorable slavery than the slavery from which the great and lamented Lincoln freed them; and their souls are made to swell with indignation against Andrew Johnson, as the great betrayer of their liberties.

THE POWER OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Andrew Johnson says the people will "give evidence to the nations of the earth and to its own citizens that it has the power to restore internal peace." Yes, the American people will give this evidence, against all Andrew Johnson's diabolical machinations to inaugurate another horrid rebellion. The Nation has put down a stupendous rebellion, and has resolved to the very death, to crush hell-born treachery to the most sacred of trusts. Let Andrew Johnson beware of treachery in himself, lest he call down the vengeance of betrayed millions.

LOYALTY MUST PREVAIL.

My countrymen—the loyal element, regardless of race or color, must master and control the destinies of Louisiana, or the enemies of Liberty, the sworn enemies of the Great Republic, will again raise the banner of treason and trail in the dust that glorious flag which has inscribed upon its folds, "Union, Confidence, Justice, Freedom, Enfranchisement—the salvation and perpetuity of the Nation." Lovers of liberty and human rights—I call upon you in the name of our venerated fathers, in the name of the love you bear for the rising generation, to meet with brave hearts and iron resolves the vital issues now before you. In our struggle to achieve and maintain republican institutions, we are sustained by the glorious Congress who are laboring "TO MAKE TREASON OPROBRIUS," and enact governments that will "insure freedom to the free." When this glorious desideratum is achieved, this GREAT Nation will justly claim that Unity and Liberty destined for a land of FREEDOM.

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